

## The Mycenaean *o*-stem genitive singular in *-o*: a re-evaluation\*

‘An extraordinary claim requires extraordinary proof.’

— Marcello Truzzi

### Introduction

The dictum that ‘[e]xtraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence’, a cornerstone of rational enquiry, was popularised by the astronomer Carl Sagan in his 1980 book *Cosmos*;<sup>1</sup> but it was formulated by Marcello Truzzi, known as ‘the skeptic’s skeptic’, two years earlier.<sup>2</sup> The corollary, that banal claims require banal evidence (if they need evidence at all) is equally valid and is taken as read already. There is nobody, for example—at least, so we may suppose—who would doubt that the Mycenaean *o*-stem nom. sg. ended in */-os/*, even though we have and can have no direct evidence, given the spelling rules, for the final consonant. The weight of evidence from alphabetic Greek is sufficiently strong that we may be confident in reconstructing */-os/* as the phonetic reality underlying the spelling *-o*. Such is our confidence indeed that any claim to the contrary would be extraordinary, and the onus would be on the person making such a claim to produce extraordinary evidence to support it.

As is well known, the standard form of the gen. sg. of *o*-stem nouns in Mycenaean is spelt *-o-jo* representing */-oy(y)o/* or similar. This morph, deriving from PIE *\*-osyo* (whatever the origins of that might be, a question which will not concern us here) survives in alphabetic Greek as Homeric and Thessalian *-οιο*, and in apocopated form it must be the origin of Thessalian *-οι*. With loss of intervocalic */-y-/* it gives first *\*-οο*, which can be reconstructed in some Homeric forms, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sagan 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Truzzi 1978, 11.

then by contraction -ov in dialects such as Attic-Ionic and ‘milder’ Doric; the -ω of Arcadian and ‘severer’ Doric is usually assumed to come from the same source. There are also reflexes in Sanskrit (-*asya* with the usual Sanskrit change *o* > *a*) and Italic, where the Lapis Satricanus has *Popliosio Valesiosio* = *Publī Valerī*.

Alongside this well-attested, regular form, some scholars have since Salomo Luria<sup>3</sup> supposed the existence of an alternative, spelt -o, e.g. in the temporal expression *wo-de-wi-jo*, *me-no* (FN Fp(1) 16 and elsewhere) consisting of the gen. of the word for ‘month’ in apposition to the name of a month which also appears in the standard form *wo-de-wi-jo-jo* (KN Ga 953). John Chadwick, on the other hand, gave a robust argument against such a form’s existence, dismissing the alleged examples as errors of one kind or another, or different constructions which do not involve the genitive.<sup>4</sup> A middle way has been adopted by, for example, Ivo Hajnal, for whom some examples are probably genuine and others errors.<sup>5</sup>

If the form is genuine, the spelling requires an explanation which is plausible within the constraints of what we know about the phonology of Mycenaean and of Greek and Indo-European more widely. There has been no shortage of suggestions, which I will now examine in turn, always keeping in mind the tenet that the evidence required to support each explanation will be stronger the more esoteric it is. As Chadwick put it sixty years ago, although ‘there is no reason to suppose that *every* Mycenaean form is inherited from Indo-European or has left traces in the later dialects ... we shall need much stronger evidence to convince us of the existence of such a form than one which can easily be fitted into the known pattern of Greek morphology.’<sup>6</sup> Or, as Andreas Willi has more recently said, ‘[s]olutions which fundamentally reduce the continuity between Mycenaean and later Greek are always suspect.’<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Luria 1957.

<sup>4</sup> Chadwick 1958.

<sup>5</sup> Hajnal 1995, 247-285.

<sup>6</sup> Chadwick 1958, 285-286.

<sup>7</sup> Willi 2008, 244.

## Phonological explanations

*Luria 1957: -o = /-ō/ corresponding to -ov/-ω*

The original suggestion offered by Luria,<sup>8</sup> but not generally accepted, connects -o with later Greek -ov/-ω. The -ov of Attic-Ionic and ‘milder’ Doric represents the long close-mid back vowel /ō/, phonetically [ō:], resulting from the compensatory lengthening of /o/, the monophthongisation of /ou/ and the contraction of /oo/ or /eo/. In this case we must be dealing with the contraction of /-oo/, whether that goes back to \*-osyo or some other form (another question which we will leave aside). To this Chadwick objects that the contraction of /oo/ very probably took place much later—the few instances of ‘irreducible -ov’ in Homer (i.e. those which occur in the final syllable of a foot before a consonant and so cannot be explained as contraction of \*-oo or elision of -οιο) are generally agreed to be late, and the evidence from Mycenaean strongly suggests that vowels in contact remain uncontracted.<sup>9</sup>

That contraction is unknown in Mycenaean might now be called into question by John Killen’s reading *po-ṇe-to-qe-ṇi* and its interpretation as /ponētoi:k<sup>w</sup>e-min/ ‘and he works on it’ in PY Eq 36.13. This would be the equivalent of the classical verb *πονέομαι*, and Killen observes that one interpretation of it is thematic /ponētoi/ with /ē/ from contraction of /ee/ following the loss of intervocalic \*y.<sup>10</sup> In support of this he notes that (i) all of our examples of contracted -e-e- come from original \*-ese- in which intervocalic /h/ is probably preserved; and (ii) the other obvious ε-contract type verbal form, *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* /trok<sup>w</sup>eyomenos/, is clearly thematic. While cautioning that athematic /ponētoi/ or /ponetoi/ are not impossible, he tentatively suggests that following the loss of intervocalic \*y (which we can see is in progress or has happened, given the alternate spellings -e-jo and -e-o in adjectives of material in \*-eyo-), while *unlike* vowels remained intact, like vowels may have contracted.

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<sup>8</sup> Luria 1957.

<sup>9</sup> Chadwick 1958, 291.

<sup>10</sup> Killen 1999, 343-344. The suggestion is endorsed by Meißner 2004, 262-264.

Still, severe doubts must remain about whether *-o* can represent /-ō/ here. First and foremost, it is far from clear that *po-ne-to* represents thematic /ponētoi/ with contraction. Second, if later Greek *-ov/-ω* derives ultimately from *\*-osyo*, as is generally believed, then the vast preponderance of Mycenaean forms in *-o-jo* is rather problematic. Mycenaean would have to have undergone a development *\*-osyo* > *\*-oyyo* > *\*-oyo* > *\*-oho* > *\*-oo* to produce the input for the contraction. The *-o-jo* spellings must all then be historical, and the lack of *-o-o* spellings would itself be surprising.<sup>11</sup> If instead we start from a by-form *\*-oso*—and this is far from clearly plausible—and if we suppose that the intervocalic /h/ resulting from the lenition of the /s/ had been or was in the process of being lost,<sup>12</sup> then the rareness and ostensible lateness of ‘irreducible *-ov*’ in Homer becomes problematic, where the survival of *-οιο* becomes a remarkable archaism.

In the absence of clear evidence for contraction in Mycenaean, and in the absence of a plausible source of the necessary precursor *\*-oo*, the suggestion that *-o* represents contracted /-ō/ must still be regarded as highly doubtful.

**Willi 2008:** *-o* = /-ōh’/

An alternative phonological explanation is offered by Willi.<sup>13</sup> Starting from a suggestion of Paul Kiparsky<sup>14</sup> that the original outcome of *\*sR* clusters in the first compensatory lengthening was *\*hR*, he argues that by the time of the tablets *\*-osyo* had become /-ōho/, initially via *\*-ohyo* > *\*ōyo*, per Kiparsky’s analysis, then with *\*y* > *h* / *V*\_\_ *V*. In pronouns this would have had a prevocalic

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<sup>11</sup> There is a handful of forms in *-o-o* which might be genitives (*to-o* at PY Un 1321.3, *to-so-o* at PY Xn 1342 and KN Od 666.a, and *a-ro-do-ro-o* at KN Fs 4), but these are not, as Willi (2008, 254) observes, sufficiently clear as to provide evidence.

<sup>12</sup> Torsten Meißner (2007) for example makes a plausible argument that intervocalic /h/ has been lost at Knossos except in earlier material from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, and was in the process of loss elsewhere.

<sup>13</sup> Willi 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Kiparsky 1967.

sandhi variant /-ōh/, for which he compares Attic dat. pl. τοῖς vs. nominal -οἰσι; and just as in Attic the short form -οἰς supplanted -οἰσι first in the article and then spread into the noun, so the aberrant -o forms of Mycenaean might, he argues, represent the intrusive pronominal short form /-ōh/.

Willi notes the difficulty of deriving /-oo/ (or *mutatis mutandis* /-ōho/) from \*-osyo when other instances of \*sy retain the /y/—for example in adjectives in -io- built to s-stems which regularly have -εἰο- in the classical dialects.<sup>15</sup> He argues that in adjectives in \*-es=io- the presence of the morpheme boundary, here denoted =, retarded the simplification of the intermediate cluster \*-hy- until after the changes \*-ǃhR- > -VR- and \*y > Ø/V\_\_V had ceased to operate, whereas in homomorphic \*-o/yo nothing prevented the change to /-ōho/.

If this is the phonological reality underlying -o-jo, then it is unclear why the spelling is consistently with -j-. Recall that in adjectives of material in \*-eyo- (rather than \*-es=yo-) spellings with -j- alternate with those without, which is taken to indicate the recent or nascent loss of the glide, while the consistent spelling of -j- in the genitive strongly suggests that the glide is still present. One can easily imagine that the /y/ might survive longer in /-ohyo-/ than in -VyV- but not so long as in -Vh=yo-, allowing for the discrepancy in the treatments of \*-osyo- and \*-es=yo- in the classical dialects. If the /y/ is still present in /-o(h)yo-/ in the genitive in Mycenaean, however, Willi's explanation for the -o forms simply collapses.<sup>16</sup>

Even if we allow that -o-jo is a conservative spelling for /-ōho/ a serious problem remains. Although Willi is right that the spread of pronominal morphs into the nominal declension in general does not presuppose the mediation of a definite article<sup>17</sup> (which is absent from Mycenaean), the creation and generalisation of the sandhi variant /-ōh/ in the pronouns requires a form which coheres closely with the following word. The article is the obvious candidate. And it is

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<sup>15</sup> Except for sporadic, later loss of -t- in Attic.

<sup>16</sup> On the lack of evidence for -o-o genitives, see above, n. 11. Willi's assertion that '[i]n a morphological form which is as frequent as the thematic genitive, conservative spellings are most likely to be faithfully preserved' is scarcely a compelling explanation of the lack of -o-o spellings.

<sup>17</sup> Willi 2008, 266.

surely telling that all of the (admittedly few) pronominal genitives which we possess are in *-o-jo*, not in *-o*.

Carlo Gallavotti's suggestion that *-o* represents apocopated */-oi'*<sup>18</sup> suffers the same problem, since it is generally held that the Thessalian development *\*-oio* > *-oi* which provides his parallel for the Mycenaean form originates in the article.

### Morphological explanations

It has not gone unnoticed that Cypriot has an *o*-stem gen. sg. in *-o-ne* which might represent something (*/-ōn/?*) which under the Linear B spelling rules might be written *-o*. It is probable, however, that Cypriot *-o-ne* (which is absent from the earliest inscriptions from Paphos) is an internal development by conflation with the gen. pl. */-ōn/*.<sup>19</sup> The explanation for Mycenaean *-o* cannot be found here. I shall similarly pass over a suggestion of Kenneth Shields Jr.,<sup>20</sup> the essence of which is that case endings can be decomposed into single-phoneme constituents which can be recombined in any order *ad libitem*; it is little more than special pleading. Two morphological explanations do deserve further comment.

### *A survival of PIE \*-os?*

Hittite has an *o*-stem gen. sg. *-as* which might indicate that at the earliest stages of PIE the gen. sg. and nom. sg. were both in *\*-os*. Mycenaean *-o* might then represent a survival of this archaic morph. The survival of archaic inflexional material in isolated nominal paradigms is not unheard of—the Latin *a*-stem gen. sg. in *-ās* in *paterfamiliās* is a good example—and the nouns in which the *-o* genitive is found, mostly personal names and month names, are from categories which might be especially prone to archaism; but this would have to be a truly remarkable

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<sup>18</sup> Gallavotti 1966.

<sup>19</sup> Egetmeyer 2010, 390-392.

<sup>20</sup> Shields Jr. 2005, developing an idea in Shields Jr. 1991

archaism given that its replacement *\*-osyo* is already well-established in several disparate IE branches (Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian, Italic and Germanic).<sup>21</sup>

***Morpurgo Davies 1960: the thematic abl. sg. \*-ōd***

Anna Morpurgo Davies suggests that *-o* represents */-ō/* continuing the *o*-stem abl. sg. in *\*-ōd*. If Mycenaean, in common with all dialects of the classical period, has a syncretism of genitive and ablative, it is entirely possible that vestiges of the old ablative morphology might have hung on with genitive as well as ablative function.<sup>22</sup> For a parallel situation, compare the common use of C-stem datives in *-e = /-ei/* in locative function, or the use of instrumental—*pi* as a final dative in the description of cloth as *ki-to-pi* /k<sup>h</sup>itomp<sup>h</sup>i/ ‘for chitons’ at KN Ld 787.B. The observation that the *-o* forms always have genitive rather than ablative function<sup>23</sup> is scarcely relevant. Yet the question must remain whether the syncretism of genitive and ablative was sufficiently recent for some ablative morphology to have survived. That it is a pan-Hellenic syncretism might suggest that it is early; and yet the syncretism of instrumental, dative and locative, which is also common to all the dialects, is either recent or on-going at the time of the tablets. I do not see how the question can be answered.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sihler 1995, 259.

<sup>22</sup> It is, of course, by no means universally accepted that this is the case; but see Morpurgo Davies 1966, Thompson 1998, Thompson 2000-2001, and more recently Thompson 2014. If *-o* did represent ablative */-ō/* in genitive function it would be the final nail in the coffin of the theory of an instrumental-ablative syncretism; I must confess that I find this attractive, but I see no way that it could be proved.

<sup>23</sup> Adrados 1990, 177.

<sup>24</sup> As a further consideration, Torsten Meißner has recently observed in a comment made at a seminar in Cambridge that in those dialects in which the outcome of compensatory lengthening and contraction merges with inherited *\*ō*, the gen. sg. spelt *-ω* in the Ionic alphabet could be a further survival of the ablative rather than a contraction of *\*-oo*. There is no way this could be proved; but it would be a curious coincidence that it was restricted to dialects of this phonological type.

## An impasse and a possible way forward

We therefore find ourselves at an impasse. If the short-form genitive really exists, phonological explanations which attempt to derive from *\*-osyo* a form which might be spelt *-o* seem unequal to the task. Morphological explanations which see in *-o* a survival of archaic morphology are more promising; and of the two, the ablative in */-ō/* seems to me the more likely, provided one is prepared to accept a genitive-ablative syncretism for Mycenaean. Whether one believes in the existence of *-o* genitives as a real category at all, however, depends on how much one is prepared to believe that the examples are due to scribal error, if they are intended to be *o*-stem genitives at all; and in our present state of knowledge we have no way of quantifying that likelihood. As Morpurgo Davies put it in the 1984 *Survey*, ‘The discussion has little hope of reaching a generally accepted conclusion, in the absence of more data and a better graphic definition of the relevant endings’.<sup>25</sup> A little more data has come forward, notably from Thebes, but we are still no closer to knowing what, exactly, the spellings represent. Numerical methods may, however, offer a new perspective.

The first step is to assemble a dossier of those forms in *-o* which we can be reasonably confident are *o*-stems and are intended to be genitive. Given that the standard *o*-stem gen. sg. is clearly in *-o-jo*, the default assumption *must* be that a form in *-o* is not an *o*-stem genitive. The claim that it is genitive is extraordinary; and in line with the position adopted at the start of this paper, the evidence that it is genitive must therefore be suitably strong: the possibility that it *could* be a genitive, if a genitive in *-o* *were* to exist, is not sufficient. For instance, the possible month name *po-ro-wi-to* occurs twice in that form, at PY Fr 1221 and 1232 in contexts where it may well be a temporal expression; but we cannot be sure that the scribe intended to write a morphologically marked genitive rather than a nominative of rubric. The fact that the genitive *po-ro-wi-to-jo* is found in PY Tn 316.1 is irrelevant, save to confirm that it is an *o*-stem; and the form *po-rō[-wi-to* in PY Fr 1218 must be disregarded as its ending is not preserved.

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<sup>25</sup> Morpurgo Davies 1985, 83.



PY Fr 1221

po-ro-wi-to , wa-na-se-wi-ja                      OLE+A S 1

PY Fr 1232

.1 di-pi-si-jo-i , po-ro-wi-to , pa-ko-we    OLE+PA S 1

.2 *vacat*

On the other hand where we have reason to believe that the form was intended to be genitive, I propose to include it—for the moment—even if other explanations are possible. For example, the month names *ka-ra-e-ri-jo*, *ra-pa-to* and *wo-de-wi-jo* (KN Fp 7, 15, 18; 13; 16, 48) are all found in connexion with the word *me-no*, which looks most plausibly like the gen. sg. of the word for month /mennos/. Although Chadwick's argument that *me-no* may be syntactically disjoint from the month name, which might then be nominative, remains highly plausible, these instances, I think, should remain under consideration for the time being.<sup>26</sup> *a-ma-ko-to*, though, occurs in KN Fp 14 without *me-no*, as does *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* in KN Fp 6 and *wo-de-wi-jo* in KN V 28o; all three should be excluded.

Similarly, where a noun is apparently dependent on another noun a genitive is likely. This is seemingly the case for *a-nu-to* (dependent on *qa-si-re-wi-ja* in KN As 1516); *e-te-wa-jo* (dependent on *wo-ka* in PY Sa 1267); the various names dependent on *do-e-ro* or *do-e-ra* (*ka-ta-mi-jo*, *pa-ta-ti-jo*, *ra-ri-di-jo*, *ta-so*) in KN Cn 911; the phrase *te-o*, *do-e-ra* in PY Eo 276, for which compare the usual *te-o-jo*, *do-e-ro* at Pylos (though *te-o* could be plural); *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* (dependent on *ki-ti-me[-na ko-]to-na* in PY Eo 276). We may also add the various names apparently dependent on words for 'son', *pa-se-ri-jo* and *u-wa-si-jo* (dependent on *ko-wo* in MY Oe 121 and KN Ai 115), *ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo* (dependent on *u-jo* in TH Gp 227.2) and *wi-do-wo-i-jo* (dependent on *i-\**65 in PY Ae 334). In this group also come the seven names on the Thebes Fq and Gp tablets which are followed by the sign which may be read either as the ideogram FAR(ina) = flour, or syllabogram \*65 probably standing for /hyus/ 'son': *a-ko-ro-da-mo* (TH Gp 215), *a-ra-o* (Fq 214, 254), *i-je-re-wi-jo* (Gp 303), *ka-wi-jo* (Fq 123, 130, 254, 258, 342), *o-to-ro-no* (Fq 214), *qe-da-do-ro* (Gp 215) and *ra-ke-da-mi-jo* (Fq 229, 258, 275, 284). In all of these cases, it is true, we could be

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<sup>26</sup> I am much less convinced by the suggestion of Jiménez Delgado 2013 that *me-no* is a *plene* spelling of nom. /mēn/ to avoid a single-sign word.

dealing with nominatives in apposition to the word for ‘son’, with a meaning ‘Lakedaimnios, Jr’ etc. There are syntactic reasons, too, for seeing *wa-na-ka-te-ro* in PY Eo 317.A as genitive as it qualifies the genitive noun *ke-ra-me-wo* = /keramēwos/ ‘potter’.

On the other hand there is not necessarily a syntactic connexion between *ra-mi-jo* and *o-pa* in TH Wu 88. In PY Eo 351 *a-da-ma-jo* is dependent on *ko-to-na* and ought to be genitive; but *inter alia* PY En 659.8 shows that its genitive is *a-da-ma-o-jo* not *a-da-ma-jo-jo*, and so this is very probably a case of scribal error. Despite the presence of *pa-zo-jo* in MI Wv 5 there is no reason to suppose that {*pa*}-*zo* in MI Wv 1 is intended to be genitive.

The ‘collectors’ names *da-mi-ni-jo*, *u-ta-jo* and *we-we-si-jo* in the Knossos D- series (*passim*) ought to be excluded. While it is true that in e.g. Kn Da 1116 *da-mi-ni-jo* stands in a parallel context to e.g. *a-pi-me-de-o*, *a-ko-ra* in PY Cn 655.5, it is not clear that a morphologically marked genitive was intended; and, as Chadwick long-ago observed, PY Cc 66o has the ‘collector’s’ name *a-ke-o* in the nominative as the subject of the verb /ageirei/.<sup>27</sup>

#### KN Da 1116

- .a                      da-mi-ni-jo
- .b    au-ri-jo , / ku-ta-to      OVIS<sup>m</sup> 50[

#### PY Cn 655

- ...
- .5    ma-ro-pi , pu-wi-no , a-pi-me-de-o , a-ko-ra      OVIS<sup>m</sup> 190
- ...

#### PY Cc 66o

- .a                      a-ke-o , a-ke-re
- .b    me-ta-pa , pa-ro ka-ra-su-no    CAP<sup>m</sup> 30

After this cull we are left with the dossier of 25 different forms (attested in total 37 times) listed in the Appendix.

In the whole corpus I count 106 *o*-stems forming genitives in *-o-jo* amounting to 329 individual tokens. Of these 34 stems (99 tokens) are in *-io-* and 72 (230 tokens) are not. There are

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<sup>27</sup> Chadwick 1958, 287.

25 stems in the dossier forming genitives in *-o*, amounting to 37 individual tokens. Of these 14 stems (25 tokens) are in *-io-* and 11 (12 tokens) are not. The distribution is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of *-o* and *-o-jo* genitives by stem character.

Of the genitives built to stems in *-o*, fewer than 5% have the short form, whereas of those built to stems in *-io-* over 20% are in *-o*. This looks to be significant. Is it?

Techniques such as Pearson's  $\chi^2$  test<sup>28</sup> or Fisher's Exact Test<sup>29</sup> can be used to test whether two categorical variables are independent. In this instance our two variables are stem character (*-i-* vs. not *-i-*) and genitive spelling (*-o-jo* vs. *-o*). Both methods show that there is indeed a statistically significant correlation between stem character and genitive formation. Calculated using the count of tokens of each type, Pearson's  $\chi^2$  statistic is 19.43, which is very much higher than the critical value of 3.841, indicating that there is a statistically strong correlation between stem character and genitive spelling. Fisher's Exact Test, which is generally held to be more accurate for small sample sizes, confirms that the probability that there is no correlation is less than  $2 \times 10^{-5}$ .

We can therefore be confident ( $P > 0.9999$ ) that there is a correlation between stem character and gen. sg. formation. Why should this be? I can see no reason why a fossilised morph, either ablative */ō-* or genitive */os-*, should correlate preferentially with stems in *-io-* rather than with stems in *-o-*. Phonological explanations seem more promising, but neither of those proposed is plausible, nor takes the final phoneme of the stem into account, and so neither fits the bill. In this context the possibility that scribal error accounts for at least some of the *-o* forms looks very strong: the haplography of a form which ought to be in *-i-jo-jo* is easy to understand.

Now it is obvious that haplography cannot account for all of the examples in the dossier. Nor need it. The dossier was constructed to give advantage to the *-o* forms. Some should probably be excluded. Despite the existence of the *o*-stem gen. sg. *a-nu-to-jo* at KN X 697.2, it is not certain that *a-nu-to* at Kn As 1516.12 is an *o*-stem. At PY Eo 276.1 the only reason to suppose that *te-o* is singular is the common formula *te-o-jo*, *do-e-ra/ro*, but it could also be gen. pl. */t<sup>h</sup>ehōn/*. Various

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<sup>28</sup> Pearson 1900.

<sup>29</sup> Fisher 1922.

types of error may account for examples such as *ke-ra-me-wo*, *wa-na-ka-te-ro* at PY Eo 371.A.<sup>30</sup> But it is clear that forms in *-i-jo-jo* are more likely to be reduced to *-i-jo* than are those in *-Co-jo* to *-Co*, which is in full accord with the statistical analysis of the spellings attested.

## Two further observations

The majority of the *-o* genitives are *hapax legomena*, which fits well with their being scribal errors. Two categories, however, have *-o* more regularly.

### *Men's names followed by \*65/FAR at Thebes*

The name *a-ra-o* occurs twice, *ka-wi-jo* five times, *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* three times. In total there are 18 instances on the Thebes Fq and Gp tablets where the sign \*65/FAR follows a noun. In no case is the name an unambiguous genitive. The clear or probable *o*-stems *a-ko-ro-da-mo*, *a-ra-o*, *i-je-re-wi-jo*, *ka-wi-jo*, *o-to-ro-no*, *qe-da-do-ro*, and *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* all have the short form rather than the full, unambiguous *-o-jo*. In Gp 144.1 ]-we cannot be genitive. In Fq 236.5 *ku-no* could be genitive /kunos/ 'dog', but it does not have to be; and in Fq 131.1 [·]-to-qo could be the gen. in /-ok<sup>w</sup>os/ of an athematic compound in /<sup>o</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>s/ (= classical ὄψ), but it could equally be nom. sg. (for which spelling compare *a<sub>3</sub>-ti-jo-qo* = nom. /Ait<sup>h</sup>iok<sup>w</sup>s/ at PY Eb 156.2, 846.A and Ep 301.2). One must question whether these are intended to be genitive at all. If we are to read the ambiguous sign as \*65 (a question on which I here remain agnostic) it might therefore better be understood as in apposition to the preceding noun rather than its governor (to be understood 'Lakedaimnios, the son' or 'junior' rather than 'the son of Lakedaimnios' etc); if it is to be read as the ideogram FAR there is no reason to suppose the preceding noun is genitive at all.

### *Month names with me-no at Knossos*

The forms *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* and *wo-de-wi-jo* each recur three times, while *ra-pa-to* is found once. Chadwick's explanation that the short-form month names are nominative in asyndeton with *me-no* may be correct. In KN Fp 7.1, 13.1, 6.1, 48.1 (see Figure 1) *me-no* is written in smaller, raised signs. In Fp 15.1 it is written in smaller signs than the month name. In KN Fp 18, too, the *me*

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<sup>30</sup> Chadwick 1958, 289.

appears to be smaller than the preceding signs. All of this may indicate a lack of syntax between the month name, which may be nom. of rubric, with *me-no* meaning something like ‘during the month’. But in **Ga 953** the *me* is also written smaller, and yet the month name appears in the genitive, *wo-de-wi-jo-jo*. I wonder whether another explanation is possible. Risch<sup>31</sup> has suggested that the *-o* forms may be gen. pl. /wordēwīōn mēnnōn/ etc. It seems unlikely that the tablets, which elsewhere operate on a yearly accounting cycle, record offerings for the same month in more than one year; but a plural reading is, perhaps, still possible.

In the classical period month names are not infrequently derived from the names of festivals. Thus alongside the neut. pl. festival name θεσμοφόρια we have on Rhodes (*SEG* 30.1637) and Crete (*GDI* 5149.58) a month name Θεσμοφόριος [sc. μήν]. Is the same thing true here? In other words, is *wo-de-wi-jo-jo*, *me-no* /wordēwīoy(y)o mēnnos/ ‘during the month Wordēwios’ with *wo-de-wi-jo-jo* in apposition to *me-no*, but *wo-de-wi-jo*, *me-no* /wordēwīōn mēnnos/ ‘during the month of the Wordēwia’ with *wo-de-wi-jo* gen. pl. dependent on singular *me-no*?

While this seems plausible for *wo-de-wi-jo(-jo)* and *ka-ra-e-ri-jo(-jo)* it is perhaps less so for *ra-pa-to*, which is surely the same as the μηνὸς Λαπάτω at Orchomenos (*DGE* 667.3). But here, perhaps, another solution presents itself. A scribe who set out to write **Fp 13** might well have consulted the previous month’s record, and seeing something like *wo-de-wi-jo*, *me-no* read it *either* as /wordēwīōn mēnnos/ (as, perhaps, intended) or as the anacolouthon /wordēwios mēnnos/ ‘Wordēwios: during the month’. If he read it as the latter, he might have followed its (lack of) syntax and written /lapatos mēnnos/ ‘Lapatos: during the month.’ This must, of course, remain speculation.

## Conclusion

Morphological explanations of the short-form *o*-stem genitive in *-o* are not, in themselves, implausible. It can however be shown that there is a very strong statistical correlation between stem character and spelling of the genitive: stems in *-io-* are very much more likely to form genitives in *-o* than those in other characters. None of the morphological explanations of *-o* which

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<sup>31</sup> Risch 1959, 223 n. 234.

have been proposed accounts for this correlation. The most likely scenario is that the *-o* genitives arise by a number of kinds of scribal error, one of which, haplography, is very likely to affect stems in *-io-*.

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## Appendix—Dossier of forms

<i>Form</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Reason for seeing as genitive</i>
<i>a-ko-ro-da-mo</i>	TH Gp 215.2	1	dependent on *65
<i>a-nu-to</i>	KN As 1516.12	1	dependent on <i>qa-si-re-qi-ja</i>
<i>a-ra-o</i>	TH Fq 214, 254	2	dependent on *65
<i>e-te-wa-jo</i>	PY Sa 1267	1	dependent on <i>wo-ka</i>
<i>i-je-re-wi-jo</i>	TH Gp 303	1	dependent on *65
<i>ka-ra-e-ri-jo</i>	KN Fp 7, 15, 18	3	agreeing with <i>me-no</i>
<i>ka-ta-mi-jo</i>	KN C 911		dependent on <i>do-e-ro</i>
<i>ka-wi-jo</i>	TH Fq 123.1, 130.3, 254.6, 258.5, 342.2	5	dependent on *65
<i>ne-wo</i>	PY Fr 1202	1	agreeing with <i>me-tu-wo</i>
<i>o-to-ro-no</i>	TH Fq 214	1	dependent on *65
<i>pa-se-ri-jo</i>	MY Oe 121.2	1	dependent on <i>ko-wo</i>
<i>pa-ta-ti-jo</i>	KN C 911	1	dependent on <i>do-e-ro</i>
<i>qe-da-do-ro</i>	TH Gp 215.1	1	dependent on *65
<i>ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo</i>	TH Gp 227.2	1	dependent on <i>u-jo</i>
<i>ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo</i>	TH Fq 229.4, 258.3, 275.3, 284.3	4	dependent on *65
<i>ra-mi-jo</i>	TH Wu 88.α	1	dependent on <i>o-pa</i>
<i>ra-pa-to</i>	KN Fp13.1	1	agreeing with <i>me-no</i>
<i>ra-ri-di-jo</i>	KN C 911	1	dependent on <i>do-e-ro</i>
<i>ta-so</i>	KN C911.9, .11	1	dependent on <i>do-e-ro</i>
<i>te-o</i>	PY Eo 276.7	1	dependent on <i>do-e-ra</i>
<i>te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro</i>	PY Eo 276.1	1	dependent on <i>ki-ti-me[-na ko-]to-na</i>
<i>u-wa-si-jo</i>	KN Ai 115	1	dependent on <i>ko-wo</i>
<i>wa-na-ka-te-ro</i>	PY Eo 371.A	1	agreeing with <i>ke-ra-me-wo</i>
<i>wi-do-wo-i-jo</i>	PY Ae 344	1	dependent on <i>i- *65</i>
<i>wo-de-wi-jo</i>	KN Fp 16.1, 48.1, Ga 953.1	3	agreeing with <i>me-no</i>

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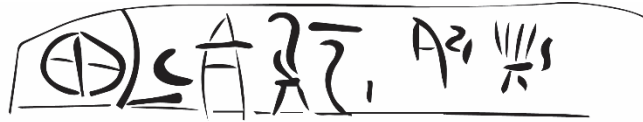


## Tables and Figures

		<i>Gen. in -o-jo</i>	<i>Gen. in -o</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Stems in -io-</i>	<i>stems</i>	34	14	<b>48</b>
	<i>tokens</i>	99	24	<b>124</b>
<i>Other stems</i>	<i>stems</i>	72	11	<b>83</b>
	<i>tokens</i>	230	12	<b>242</b>
<i>Total</i>	<i>stems</i>	106	25	<b>131</b>
	<i>tokens</i>	329	36	<b>366</b>

Table 1. Distribution of *-o* and *-o-jo* genitives by stem character.

KN Fp 7.1



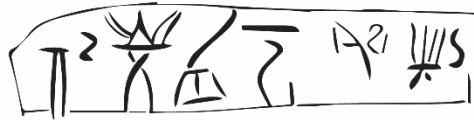
KN Fp 13.1



KN Fp 15.1



KN Fp 16.1



KN Fp 18.1



KN Fp 48.1



KN Ga 953.1

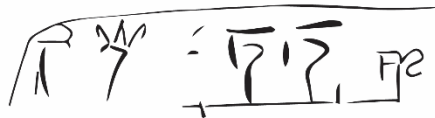


Figure 1. Examples of month name + *me-no* at Knossos.